



## **CEPPS/NDI Final Report**

### **BULGARIA: VOTER EDUCATION AND GET-OUT-THE-VOTE IN ADVANCE OF THE 2005 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

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#### **I. SUMMARY**

On June 25, 2005, Bulgarian voters went to the polls to elect a new government and members of the 40<sup>th</sup> National Assembly. Although the outgoing government had secured NATO membership and a tentative accession date to enter the European Union (EU), polls show citizens' frustration over the lack of attention paid to other issues that they felt were important, such as healthcare reform and economic stagnation. Young people in particular cited the lack of open debate on these issues as a reason for their decreasing interest in politics.

From April to July, the National Democratic Institute (NDI or the Institute) began a non-partisan, voter education and Get-Out-The-vote (GOTV) program targeted at young, urban voters—a demographic traditionally perceived as unlikely to vote. The program combined a national media campaign with a small grants component that enabled NGOs to conduct grassroots GOTV activities throughout Bulgaria. The specific objective of the program was to provide technical and financial assistance to NGOs to target youth and to encourage their participation in the electoral process.

To that end, NDI and its NGO partners conducted the following program activities under this agreement:

- Produced GOTV television and radio spots that were aired more than 500 times in May and June;
- Developed and distributed 250,000 voter education brochures in all 264 municipalities in Bulgaria;
- Organized 14 candidate debates that provided young people with an opportunity to directly question candidates on issues that were important to them; and
- Conducted door-to-door outreach that reached thousands of people.

Specific results from NDI's program included the following:

- Youth turnout for the parliamentary elections was equal to or higher than other age groups under 50 and was higher than the national turnout. Exit polls conducted by Sova Harris showed that 17.8 percent of voters were aged 18 to 29, which was the same percentage as voters in their 40s and slightly higher than the percentage of voters in their 30s.
- In the nine polling stations that make up Sofia's students' town—the area in which NDI's GOTV partners conducted a massive door-to-door effort—643 percent more students voted in 2005 (4,589) than in 2001 (907).
- NGOs conducted more than 40 voter education activities that directly reached more than 50,000 voters. Another 8,000 people were reached through the internet.
- NGO events were covered by at least 79 media outlets (television, radio, newspaper and internet sources), including the national outlets Bulgarian National TV, MSAT, bTV, NovaTV, 7 Dni, *Kapital*, *Dnevnik*, *24 Chassa*, *Monitor*, *Sega*, *Novinar*, and *vsekiden.com*, *novinite.com*, *dir.bg*, *avotra.com*, and *home.bg*.
- Following advice given by NDI and its NGO partners, the Central Election Commission used the Arial font on election ballots, as it is the easiest for the visually impaired to read.

Although voter turnout decreased overall, exit polls indicated that youth were as or more active than other age groups under 50. There are several possible reasons for the decreased turnout among the general population. The 10 percent of the electorate who intended to vote but had not yet decided whom to support remained undecided on election day and stayed home. Further, the change of the election day from Sunday to Saturday may have depressed turnout. Although the government organized its own GOTV campaign, which no doubt had some effects, the government's campaign was media based, while NDI's partners had direct contact with more than 50,000 young people; research proves that direct contact is more influential than a mass media campaign.

As the fourth non-partisan, grassroots GOTV campaign NDI organized, NGOs used their experience from previous elections to conduct targeted activities on limited budgets. In addition, the NGOs took more responsibility for the campaign by actively recruiting local media partners and, for the first time, someone from outside NDI served as the campaign spokesperson. Although some of the NGO networks were recently established and exhibited some communication problems, both within their networks and within the coalition, in meetings they were eager to share their experiences and provide suggestions to their partners. Overall, several NGOs commented that they enjoyed targeting young people in this campaign and they used the opportunity to bring new, young volunteers into their organizations.

Bulgaria's new government, which took almost two months to create, is already fragile. The parties of the governing coalition will have to work together to begin to address the needs of the country, including those of the young people, who demonstrated in these elections that they vote in similar numbers to other age demographics and that they are interested in politics.

## II. BACKGROUND

On June 25, Bulgarian voters went to the polls to elect a new government and members of the 40<sup>th</sup> National Assembly. The outgoing government was the second since 1989 to fulfill its four-year mandate; it also secured NATO membership and a tentative accession date in the European Union. Although these achievements did not go unnoticed by the electorate, the government of the former king entered the campaign period plagued by the same general public discontent with politicians that the party's rivals faced. Citizens expressed frustration over the lack of attention politicians pay to the issues voters feel are important, such as healthcare reform and economic stagnation.

Young people in particular, cited the lack of open debate on issues as a reason for their decreasing interest in politics. However, these elections presented an opportunity for them to prove that they are a political force and to draw attention to the issues that youth consider important: education finance reform; corruption in the university system, which is already non-competitive with its European counterparts; high unemployment; and a poor health care system. In addition, changes to the election law, which allowed students to vote where they study rather than traveling to their permanent address, provided youth with an opportunity to increase their turnout and, as a result, attract the attention of political parties.

In an effort to reach out to voters, the Bulgarian government (led by the National Movement for Simeon – NMS) organized a controversial GOTV campaign that included a prize lottery for those who voted. Opposition parties were skeptical of the government's efforts, as they felt the money used on advertisements and prizes could be put to better use. While the campaign was not officially targeted at young voters, the lottery prizes included electronics and other high technology items to entice young, urban voters. The NMS was not the only party that wanted to capture the youth vote. All the parties organized free concerts with popular musicians to draw attention to their campaigns. Some parties, such as New Time and the Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (DSB), sent young candidates to public events to attract young voters. Three parties—Coalition for Bulgaria (KB), Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), and Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)—had leaders on their lists who were under 30 years of age. Although this is a positive step for promoting youth inclusion in the political process, in reality few parties had young people in electable positions.

Although voter turnout for the elections was 55.7 percent, down 11 percent from the 2001 parliamentary elections, youth turnout was higher than the national average. According to the Institute for Marketing and Social Surveys' (MBMD) exit polls, 57 percent of eligible 18 to 29 year olds voted in these elections. Sova Harris' exit polls also showed that 17.8 percent of the actual voters were 18 to 29, which was the same percentage as voters in their 40s and slightly higher than the percentage of voters in their 30s. The turnout was Bulgaria's lowest since 1989—attributed mainly to public confusion over parties (one liberal party and one center-right party had split into two liberal and three center-right parties); a pre-ordained KB victory that led many to stay home; and personality-based politics that featured promises rather than responsiveness to voters' concerns.

Some voters chose to show their discontent with parties by not voting, while others cast their ballots for the newly formed, right-wing *Ataka* (Attack) coalition. The coalition was not registering in pre-election polls until a week before the elections, but it came out of nowhere to receive 8 percent of the vote. Although some *Ataka* supporters were drawn to its anti-Roma, anti-Turkish and anti-EU platform, other voters chose *Ataka* as a protest against established parties. In the initial days after the election, political commentators debated whether or not the low turnout and success of *Ataka* would lead parties to be more receptive to the voters' opinions, but the confusion that resulted in the coalition negotiation process did not raise voters' hopes that parties would put aside their personal interests to concentrate on the welfare of the nation.

The opposition KB – led by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) – garnered the most support with 31 percent of the vote. This was not enough, however, to form a government, given that seven parties passed the electoral threshold. Both the KB and the runner-up, the incumbent NMS, failed to create a coalition government during their attempts (both failing to negotiate a government with the other – largely over which party would head the government). Almost two months after the elections and despite pledges to the contrary, on the third and final attempt to form a government, the KB and NMS managed to form a coalition government with the MRF. The government is headed by BSP-leader, Sergey Stanishev, and has the same cabinet originally voted down by the NMS, albeit now with NMS ministers. This fragile coalition means that its members will have to work together to address the needs of the country, including those of the young people, who demonstrated in these elections that they vote in similar numbers to other age demographics, proving that they can no longer be dismissed by politicians as passive.

Recognizing that NGOs had a unique role to play in this process of increasing the participation of youth in the political process, NDI coordinated a national network of NGOs to conduct voter education and motivational activities aimed at youth (aged 18-25) throughout the country. NDI's program built on its previous GOTV efforts by working with national NGO networks to organize their local NGO partners and to build relations with government bodies and relevant nongovernmental associations at the national and local levels. The specific objective of the program was to provide technical and financial assistance to NGOs to target youth and encourage their participation in the electoral process.

### III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

NDI, along with a coalition of seven NGO networks, conducted a national, nonpartisan, voter education and get-out-the vote program, *Az sam mlad i glasuvam!* (I am young and vote!), targeting young, urban voters. Six NGO networks received small grants to carry out grassroots GOTV activities, and all seven were represented on an executive council that provided strategic guidance for the program. The campaign reached voters through radio and television ads featuring Bulgarian personalities, and NGO grassroots activities were conducted in approximately 20 municipalities.



## National Media Campaign

NDI, with input from its coalition partners, developed a national media campaign featuring Bulgarian personalities and informational literature on recent changes to the election law. NDI and its partners enlisted 12 celebrity volunteers, including musicians, screen actresses,

### *My Three Reasons to Vote*

On June 4 and 19, *Az sam mlad i glasuvam!* volunteers appeared on the television show *Sblusuk* to tell people why they were going to vote. Student volunteer Margarita Peeva's reasons were the following:

1. People often say "the people deserve their leaders." I don't want to blame anyone else for choosing my leaders, I prefer to take this responsibility.
2. I believe that every vote matters. Voting is my right and I have to participate.
3. I care who will make the rules in my country.

television personalities, and the presidential IT award winner, to participate in the radio and television spots. NDI worked with these celebrities to develop the scripts, which are included in this report as Appendix A. The clips were shown on bTV (70 times), MM television (120 times), Bulgarian National Radio (192 times), and Radio Fresh (123 times) from May 25 to June 23.

In addition to the paid-media partners, NDI established partnerships with other media outlets to cover or publicize *Az Sam Mlad i Glasuvam!* events. These partners included Avotra.com, Vsekiden.com – a news portal, Radio Alma Mater, Glasovoditel.online.bg, and *Egoist Magazine*.

## *National Voter Education Brochure and Other Program Materials*

NDI and its NGO partners produced 250,000 voter education brochures (see Appendix B) and posters for universities that explained the new voting procedures in detail, which were then distributed by the NGOs. In addition, NDI produced volunteer t-shirts and cell phone lariat with the *Az Sam Mlad i Glasuvam!* logo for NGOs to use in their direct-contact activities.

"500 volunteers in green t-shirts will encourage the youth from 20 cities to vote. The organizers are 7 NGOs. The 'green t-shirts' will have discussions with politicians and students, they will distribute materials in schools, clubs and Internet cafes..."

24 CHASA, 5/26/2005

## NGO Coalition

NDI organized a coalition of seven national NGO networks to provide direction to the *Az Sam Mlad i Glasuvam!* campaign and to implement direct contact activities throughout Bulgaria. The network included the following:

- United Nations Association of Bulgaria
- National Association of Municipalities of the Republic of Bulgaria (NAMRB)
- National Network for Equal Opportunities
- National Human Rights Association for People with Disabilities "Equality"
- An informal network of Roma NGOs
- U.N. Youth Clubs
- Bulgarian Electoral College

Six of the seven networks had worked with NDI in the past, while the seventh (U.N. Youth Clubs) was recommended as a responsible youth organization that networks throughout the country.

The coalition met every two to three weeks throughout the course of the program to discuss the objectives, to develop the national media campaign, to coordinate campaign activities, to outline best practices and lessons learned from the campaign, and to develop a plan for following up on the recommendations with the Central Election Commission (CEC).

### *CEC Recommendations*

On May 25, representatives of the *Az Sam Mlad I Glasuvam!* coalition met with members of the CEC to present the campaign's goals and activities, as well as to ask for permission to conduct non-partisan activities on election day (which unfortunately they could not grant). The following recommendations were also made: break down the election results by gender and age group; require that polling stations be accessible to the disabled; and use Arial font on the ballots as it is the easiest for the visually impaired to read. While the CEC was unable to accept all of the recommendations, it did use the Arial font on the ballot.

### *Small Grants Administration*

Seven NGO networks submitted applications for small grants to conduct GOTV activities and six of these (all but the Bulgarian Electoral College, which proposed to monitor the elections rather than conduct GOTV activities) were funded at approximately \$4,000 each. Each network worked in three to five cities. As the networks operated in different areas, there were activities in approximately 20 cities (see map) to educate and motivate young people to vote. The networks submitted reports on their activities every 10 days as well as a final report the week after the elections ended. NDI representatives monitored their activities through on-site visits.



### NGO Activities

In addition to the national media campaign, partners from the NGO networks conducted activities at the local level to educate people about the changes in the election law and to the ballot and to provide young people with an opportunity to present their ideas to candidates. A complete calendar of activities can be found in Appendix C. The following chart outlines the number of youth directly engaged in each type of activity: select activities are detailed below.

Type	Direct Contacts
Door-to-Door	6,780
High School Visits and Meetings	5,381
Information Bureaus and Literature Drops	40,399

Candidate Meetings	998
Voter Simulations	1,057
Internet	8,000

### *Door-to-Door Outreach, Visits to High Schools, Information Bureaus and Literature Drops*

The U.N. Association for Bulgaria conducted door-to-door outreach in students' dorms in Sofia (22 dorms), Burgas (3), and Varna (3). The National Network for Equal Opportunities canvassed in the three dorms surrounding the medical university in Pleven.

The National Network for Equal Opportunities (NNEO), the "Equality" network, and the U.N. Youth Clubs also worked within high schools to reach out to first-time voters. Between the two organizations, the coalition contacted 14 high schools in Sofia, Haskovo, and Varna and discussed the importance of voting and procedural details.

All of the NGO networks organized information bureaus in their towns and conducted literature drops in the days before the elections. The NAMRB conducted its information campaign in all 264 Bulgarian municipalities.



A volunteer distributes voter education leaflets as part of the *I am Young and Vote* campaign around this year's parliamentary elections.

### *Candidate Debates*

The *Az, Sam Mlad i Glasuvam!* coalition organized 14 debates that provided young people with an opportunity to directly question candidates on issues. These debates ranged from formal events with highly structured debate rules to more informal events, such as meet-the-candidates discos.

#### *Candidates Debate at the Disco*

On June 16 in Silistra, eight candidates met with approximately 40 university students and first-time voters at the local disco to answer questions on their respective parties' plans for educational reforms, job creation, and options for youth to spend their free time. With the exception of the KB and the New Time, all of the candidates were first on their party list in the region (from the DSB, the NMS, the ADF, the Bulgarian's Peoples Union (BPU), the MRF and the Coalition "Long Live Bulgaria"). The discussion became particularly lively when youth challenged the candidates' intentions to generate increased sports opportunities, as some in the crowd favored other options. The young volunteers from



Candidates sign a contract with Silistra's Youth



NAMRB took notes on the candidates' answers to the questions that were then turned into a "contract with youth" signed by the candidates at the end of the debate.

### Candidates Sit for Exams

More than 70 students from four Sofia universities gathered at the New Bulgarian University on June 17 to "examine" candidates from six of the seven parties represented in parliament. Similar to the students' exams, candidates were given a list of questions in advance, generated by the students, and were told that the debate questions would be selected randomly from the list. The questions that were asked were related to education, reform of the university credit system, and the fight against corruption in the university system. At the end of the debate, the U.N. Association of Bulgaria, which organized the debate, "passed" each of the parties by stamping their platforms with the *Az Sam Mlad I Glasuvam!* logo.

### Meet the Candidate Disco in Sofia

On June 23, the U.N. Youth Clubs organized a meet-the-candidates disco at the Student's House in Central Sofia. Although the major parties were invited, only representatives from the ADF, KB, and NMS attended. Candidates briefly presented how their party would best represent youth in the next parliament and then spent the next hour speaking with students individually to answer questions on specific issues. Approximately 50 students attended.



Sofia students discuss the issues with ADF candidate Ljubomir Kovachev.

### Voter Simulations

On June 14, *Amalipe*, a Roma NGO, organized voter information tables, including a vote simulation, to familiarize people with the new integrated ballot in Veliko Turnovo. Instead of political parties, the ballot listed music genres and in two hours 257 people voted with only two invalid ballots.

On June 22 and 23 in Haskovo, Stara Zagora, and Vratsa, the National Network for Equal Opportunities organized street parades that led to voter information tables and simulation booths where first-time voters could practice the voting process before election day. Approximately 600 young people took advantage of this opportunity. The voter simulations in Haskovo were covered by bTV on its 10 p.m. national news, as well as in the local newspapers.

"The initiatives of the campaign *I Am Young and I Vote!* are among the most reasonable things which happen around the country in the entire campaign – maybe because they are not organized by the headquarters of one political force and maybe because they give the young people the chance to ask the politicians about the things they care about."

Newspaper *Kapital*, June 18-24, 2005



## *Internet*

The U.N. Association of Bulgaria developed an online forum in which young people shared their thoughts about the elections and party platforms ([www.studentsvote.info](http://www.studentsvote.info)). The website was publicized by bTV, novinite.com, *Dnevnik*, and other news outlets. NGOs also sent e-cards featuring the cover of the voter education brochure to their contacts at the beginning of the campaign and again two days before the elections. Finally, as part of its website, NDI developed a page ([http://www.ndi-bg.org/\\_bg/azsummladiglas.html](http://www.ndi-bg.org/_bg/azsummladiglas.html)) devoted to the coalition's activities: a calendar of events that was updated weekly; an electronic copy of the voter education brochure; and information on the celebrity volunteers.

## *Advocating for More Accessible Polling Stations*

In addition to conducting voter education and motivational activities, in an effort to ensure that their members could physically enter the polling stations on election day, the National Human Rights Association for People with Disabilities, "Equality," monitored more than 80 polling stations in four cities and made recommendations on how the stations could be made more accessible so as to be in compliance with the election law. Suggestions included the following:

- Provide parking spaces for the disabled;
- Provide ramps outside of the polling stations;
- Post signs for alternative handicapped accessible entrances;
- Prop open heavy doors;
- Widen doors so a wheelchair could pass; and
- Lower the table in the voting booth so that it was accessible to those in wheelchairs.

The following table outlines the number of stations monitored in each city and the number of stations that implemented Equality's recommendations.

City	Stations Monitored	Initial Evaluation – Accessible	Initial Evaluation – Partially or Inaccessible	Stations Renovated per Recommendations	Stations Accessible on Election Day
Sofia	23	2	21	2	4
Burgas	18	0	18	3	3
Varna	32	4	28	0	4
Vidin	11	3	8	8	11
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>22</b>

As a result of the recommendations, the number of accessible polling stations among those evaluated increased from 11 to 26 percent. Although this is significant, the results varied greatly by city. The Local Election Commission (LEC) announced the location of the polling stations in Vidin much earlier than in other cities, allowing more time for the LEC to implement the recommendations. Conversely, in Sofia, there was a delay in the announcement of voting station locations, so there was less time to address the recommendations.

## Other Activities

### *Embassy Briefing*

On July 8, NDI presented the results of the media campaign, NGO partners' activities and the GOTV program to U.S. Embassy and USAID officials. In addition to outlining the program highlights, NDI presented a summary of the issues that youth identified as being most important to them, which could be considered when reviewing future funding strategies. These issues include the following:

- The disconnect between the educational system and the job market;
- The disparity between Bulgarian and European university credit systems;
- The lack of a government-funded student loan system; and
- The confusion created by the ever-changing high school exit exam.

Embassy officials also expressed great interest in NDI's analysis of the successes and failures of the entire election process. Topics discussed included the lack of political will among political parties to increase overall turnout, changes in the election law that allowed for a higher number of political ads that, in turn, detracted from non-partisan ads (such as NDI's), and the positive effects of institutional participation in this process, such as the CEC's voter education spots.

### *GOTV Training for the Minorities Network*

On April 21 and 22, NDI trained 26 civic activists from the Minority Initiative for Human Rights (MIHR) to help it conduct GOTV activities and to advocate to political parties to include more minorities in the administrative offices of the local and national governments. The training session included discussions on writing objectives and developing workplans, message development, GOTV tactics and strategic planning, and case studies and problem solving. All participants received copies of the GOTV manual and a CD of materials from NDI's program on connecting political parties and NGOs.

## **IV. RESULTS AND ACOMPLISHMENTS**

**Objective:** To provide technical and financial assistance to NGOs to target youth and encourage their participation in the electoral process.

**Indicator:** Number of voter education/registration activities and candidate debates conducted, inclusive of events that bring candidates and young voters together to discuss specific issues.

- NGOs conducted more than 40 voter education/motivation activities throughout the GOTV campaign (see calendar in Appendix C) such as voter simulations, door-to-door outreach, candidate debates, and information sessions with first-time voters.
- NGOs directly reached approximately 50,000 voters through these activities and an additional 8,000 through the internet.

- NGO events were covered by at least 79 media outlets (television, radio, newspaper and internet sources), including the national outlets Bulgarian National TV, MSAT, bTV, NovaTV, 7 Dni, *Kapital*, *Dnevnik*, *24 Chassa*, *Monitor*, *Sega*, *Novinar*, and vsekiden.com, novinite.com, dir.bg, avotra.com, and home.bg.
- The NAMRB distributed voter education brochures in all 264 Bulgarian municipalities before the elections.

**Indicator:** Number of television and radio spots that target youth and encourage them to vote.

- The *Az Sam Mlad i Glasuvam!* television spot was aired 70 times on bTV and 120 times on MM.
- The Coalition's radio spot was aired 192 times on Bulgarian National Radio and 123 times on Radio Fresh.
- *Az Sam Mlad i Glasuvam!* volunteers appeared on several popular bTV shows, including *The Morning Show*, *Sblusuk*, and *Spoko*.

**Indicator:** Voter turnout among youth remains consistent or increases as compared to the 1997 and 2001 local elections.

- In the nine polling stations that make up Sofia's students' town—the area in which NDI's GOTV partners conducted a massive door-to-door effort—643 percent more students voted in 2005 (4,589) than in 2001 (907).
- According to exit polls conducted by MBMD, 57.3 percent of eligible voters between the ages of 18 and 29 participated in these elections. This is higher than the national turnout of 55.7 percent.
- Exit polls conducted by Sova Harris also showed that 17.8 percent of voters were aged 18 to 29, which was the same percentage as voters in their 40s and slightly higher than the percentage of voters in their 30s.

## Unanticipated Results

- *Egoist* magazine included the national educational brochure in its issue released the week before the elections – circulation 6,000.
- The CEC accepted the suggestion of NDI and its partners to use Arial font on the ballots, which is easier for people with vision problems to read.
- Only 1.48 percent of the ballots in this election were invalid. However, as the CEC also conducted an education campaign on the new ballots, it is difficult to discern the effectiveness of each campaign separately.

## V. EVALUATION

The June 25 parliamentary elections brought NDI's fourth GOTV program to a successful close. Although voter turnout decreased overall, exit polls indicated that youth were as or more active than other age groups under 50. Those over 50 had the highest voter turnout.

There are several possible reasons for the decreased turnout among the general population, including the following: pre-election polls confidently predicted a BSP/MRF government and would-be voters did not believe their ballot was consequential; the 10 percent of the electorate who intended to vote but had not yet decided whom to support remained undecided on election day and stayed home; and the change of the election day from Sunday to Saturday and/or the reassignment of some polling stations confused voters, despite government and NGO voter education efforts.

Given the large government GOTV campaign, it is hard to determine the relative influence of NDI's campaign. However, it is important to note that NDI's partners had more than 50,000 direct contacts with youth, while the government relied on television spots, posters, direct-mail campaigns, and voter incentives. Traditionally, direct contact with potential voters has a larger impact than a mass media campaign.

NDI experienced difficulties in tracking the number of students who took advantage of the new law to vote in the cities in which they studied. When NDI proposed the program before the new election law was passed, the Institute believed that universities would issue certificates to students verifying their registration status and that it would be able to collect this data from the universities. When the law was finally passed, however, it allowed students to vote with their student identification card, thus making it difficult for NDI and its partners to collect this data. In addition, the CEC did not differentiate between people added to the registry who were voting with their students' books and those voting with out-of-district waivers.

Due to the shorter timeframe for this GOTV campaign compared to previous elections, as well as a lower amount for small grants, the NGOs conducted activities on a smaller scale than in previous election cycles. Even given the restraints on their resources, the networks exhibited a more sophisticated approach to working with the media than in previous campaigns, resulting in national and local media coverage. One NGO that participated in all three previous GOTV programs commented that the media showed more interest in this year's program than in any of the previous campaigns.

In every GOTV campaign that NDI has organized, the Institute has furthered the development of NGOs by devolving more responsibility to them. This year, NGOs developed the recommendations to the CEC and took the lead in presenting them. The NGOs also took responsibility for organizing their own networks – and the financial responsibility for funding their networks' activities. In addition, this was the first time the spokesperson for the campaign was not an NDI staff member. Although this shows that the NGOs have developed their organizing skills since the first GOTV in 2001, the NGOs within the network did not always demonstrate the desire to communicate with each other and instead relied on NDI to lead the internal communication within the coalition. This is similar to the communication within the NGO networks, which were recently formed and also experienced some internal communication problems. Nonetheless, during the bi-weekly meetings, coalition members were eager to share ideas with each other. In addition, the NGOs exhibited ingenuity in targeting a subsection of their regular target group (Roma or disabled). Many NGOs commented that targeting a specific group was effective and that the campaign provided them with an opportunity to draw younger

volunteers to their organizations, and with them, fresh ideas and new energy for getting involved in the political process.

NDI has engaged Bulgarian NGOs in voter education and GOTV initiatives in the past several election cycles. Each subsequent initiative has seen important results, improvements from past initiatives, and, as always, continued room for improvement. Along the way, what was once novel for NGOs and quite startling to voters and political parties has become normal, even routine: civic groups taking an active role in elections to promote citizen participation and public dialogue on important issues. These same groups now have the capacity to conduct their own effective, targeted voter education and GOTV efforts, and stemming from that, they can increase their presence in public discussions on legislative issues. For these reasons, Bulgaria's democratic political system has been measurably strengthened.

## **VI. ATTACHMENTS**

- A. GOTV Commercial Script
- B. GOTV Brochure
- C. Calendar of NGO Partners Activities

## APPENDIX A



### COMMERCIAL SCRIPT



#### **ANIMATIONSERITE**

*"We vote because we are Bulgarian and in the next 4 years we intend to live in Bulgaria!"*

The band was formed at the beginning of 1997. So far they have released two albums: *A* in 2000 and *+* in 2003. Presently, the boys from *Animatsionerite* are collecting material for a new album, while also working hard on their individual projects.



#### **VESSELA KAZAKOVA:**

*"I'm tired of waiting! It all depends on us now!"*

Vessela has starred in famous Bulgarian film productions such as *Mila from Mars*, *Stolen Eyes* and *A Crazy Day*. She is currently working on a new film she co-wrote entitled *Stereo (love)*.



#### **DANIEL TSOCHIEV:**

*"It never occurred to me not to vote!"*

Daniel Tsochev has worked in a number of TV productions. He is popular as the voice behind many well-known film characters on the Bulgarian screen. Presently an actor of *Vazrazhdane* Theatre, he also appears on the *Magical Voices* show touring in Europe and North America.



#### **RADOST from Ogledala TV show:**

*"Voting is my way of showing that I am proud of my country."*

Apart from being a popular TV host, Radost is also a practicing lawyer and a seven-time national synchronized swimming champion. Radost believes that participating in campaigns such as GOTV is important because it helps ensure a better life for all people in Bulgaria.





**RASHI:**

*“Words are necessary – just vote!”*

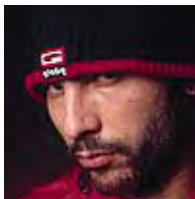
Rashi is a famous TV host and a graduate of the National Academy of Theatre and Film Art. Rashi has been the host of the *No Comment* TV show since its inception three years ago.



**SVETLIN NAKOV:**

*“I’m voting with my student’s book – you no longer have to travel to vote!”*

Svetlin Nakov is 2004 laureate of the John Atanassov Award for contribution to the development of the information society awarded by the Bulgarian President. Svetlin has numerous other awards and publications in the IT field.



**SPENS:**

*“Vote so you don’t blame others next time!”*

Spens began his career as a rap singer in 1995. His first album, *Too Personal I*, came out in 2002 and was followed by *I’m Sick of It*. Presently he is co-hosting the Bulgarian Top 100 music chart.



**ULYANA:**

*“This time is the first time!”*

The charming co-host of the Bulgarian Top 100 music chart will be voting for the first time in the 2005 parliamentary elections. Along with building a successful career as a TV star, Ulyana is also studying acting and theatre at the National Academy for Theatre and Film Art.

✓ **Аз съм информиран!**

*Как да реша за кого да гласувам?*

- Разговаряй със своето семейство и приятели.
- Следи новините, чети вестници и сърфирай в интернет.
- Задавай въпроси на кандидат-депутатите.
- Довери се на инстинктите си.



**Весела Казакова:**

*"Писна ми да чакам!  
Всичко зависи  
от нас сега!"*

**Как изглежда бюлетината?**

На бюлетината са изброени всички партии/коалиции с квадратче до всяка една, в което да отбележиш избраната от теб.

Всяка партия/коалиция има номер (еднакъв за цялата страна), на бюлетината са изписани името (или аббревиатурата) ѝ, както и имената на първите трима кандидати от листата за съответния избиращ район.

✓ **Аз съм млад и гласувам!**  
25 юни 2005

✓ **Аз съм млад и гласувам!**  
25 юни 2005



**Раши:**

*"Няма нужда от думи, просто гласувай!"*

✓ **Аз гласувам!**

**Какво трябва да направя  
в деня на изборите?**

В избиращата секция отбелязват името ти в избиращия списък и получаваш бюлетина.

След като отбележиш партията/коалицията, която предпочиташ, събери бюлетината и я подай на член на комисията, за да я подпечата на гърба, преди да я пуснеш в урната.

Подпиши се в избиращия списък. Ако си студент, член на комисията ще подпечата и студентската ти книжка.

Ако се объркаш и все още не си пуснал бюлетината в урната, можеш да поискаш нова бюлетина.



**Анимационерите:**

*"Гласуваме, защото сме българи и смятаме следващите 4 години да живеем в България!"*

✓ **Важни дати**

**10 юни** - последният ден, в който името може да бъде вписано в избиращия списък

**25 юни** (събота) - **ИЗБОРИ**. Избиращият ден започва в 06:00 ч. и завършва в 19:00 ч.

**Даниел Цочев:**

*"Никога не ми е хрумвало  
да не гласувам!"*



**А за хората с увреждания?**

Всяка избираща секция има стаячка за гласуване на първия етаж. Седем дни преди изборите можеш да се обърнеш към районната избираща комисия за повече информация за предвидените мерки за хората с увреждания.

✓ **Аз съм млад и гласувам!**  
25 юни 2005

## APPENDIX C

### Schedule of NGO Partners' Activities

<b>May 26</b>	Press conferences of the National Net for Equal Opportunities <i>Haskovo and Gabrovo</i> Contact: Katya Bozhikova
<b>May 27</b>	Press conferences of the National Net for Equal Opportunities Vratza and Stara Zagora Contact: Katya Bozhikova
<b>May 27</b>	<i>Press conference of the UN youth clubs in Bulgaria</i> <i>Sofia</i> Contact: Emil Petkov
<b>May 30</b>	Debate „Perspectives for the Higher Education After the Parliamentary elections 2005”, invited candidates from the Sofia lists, 10:30 a.m., Studentski Dom <i>Sofia</i> Contact: Mihaela Hristova
<b>May 30</b>	Press conference of Amalipe <i>Veliko Turnovo</i> Contact: Teodora Krumova
<b>May 30 – June 3</b>	Informational campaign in all 264 Bulgarian municipalities – distributing the brochure Contact: Maria Kumanova
<b>May 31</b>	Informational campaign and meeting with young Roma parents and concert <i>Village of Vodoley and Veliko Turnovo</i> Contact: Teodora Krumova
<b>May 31</b>	Meeting with the campaign headquarters of Coalition for Bulgaria, the goal of which is to introduce to them the measures for accessibility for their meetings with disabled voters <i>Sofia</i> Contact: Anna Yanina
<b>June 1</b>	Young people from Stara Zagora meet Martin Karbovski , candidates, representatives from REC; the purpose of the meeting is to inform and motivate for participation in the coming elections <i>Stara Zagora</i>

Contact: Katya Bozhikova

- June 3 – 25** Informational tables and campaign for sending through the post the brochures ‘*InValid, but with Valid Votes*’ and “*Accessibility of the polling station and the voting process*”  
*Burgas, Varna, Vidin and Sofia*  
Contact: Anna Yanina
- June 5 – 23** Meetings for young disabled people for introduction of the measures for accessibility and discuss the changes in the election law  
*Burgas and Vidin*  
Contact: Anna Yanina
- June 6** Young people from Pleven meet Martin Karbovski to discuss the coming elections  
*Pleven*  
Contact: Katya Bozhikova
- June 6** The forum [www.studentsvote.info](http://www.studentsvote.info) launches  
Contact: Emil Petkov
- June 6 – 10** Informational campaign in the Roma communities for clarifying the procedure for registration for voting on the current address  
*Shumen and Haskovo*  
Contact: Teodora Krumova
- June 8 – 21** Informational campaign I am young and I vote! in schools/ homeroom  
Sofia – School 133, School 7; School 32; School 91; School 9; School127; School 74;  
*Sofia*  
Contact: Mihaela Hristova
- Varna – School 7  
Contact: Anna Yanina
- Haskovo – Foreign Language School „A. ZLatarov”; Mathematical School; School PGLP; Food Industry School; Financial School; School „Otetz Paisiy”  
Contact: Katya Bozhikova
- June 8– 24** Door-to-door campaign in the students doemitories  
*Sofia, Varna, Plovdiv, Burgas, Veliko Turnovo, Ruse and Svistaov*  
Contact: Emil Petkov, tel.  
*Haskovo and Stara Zagora*  
Contact: Katya Bozhikova
- June 13 – 23** Informational tables and door-to-door campaign in the Roma communities;

distribution of informational materials

*Veliko Turnovo, village of Vodoley, Razgrad, Vazovo, Senovo, Sever, Zavet, Seslav, Haskovo, Karlovo, village of Rozino and Montana*

Contact: Teodora Krumova

**June 13 – 23**

Meetings for young disabled people for introduction of the measures for accessibility and discuss the changes in the election law

*Burgas*

Contact: Anna Yanina

**June 13; 17**

Meetings for young disabled people for introduction of the measures for accessibility and discuss the changes in the election law

*Vidin*

Contact: Anna Yanina

**June 13**

Discussion „What does the Youth Expect from Their Candidate?” and Meet the candidates Disco at restaurant Plaza, starting at 8:00 p.m.

*Montana*

Contact: Maria Kumanova

**June 13**

Candidate debate, followed by happening in the Roma community

*Shumen*

Contact: Teodora Krumova

**June 14**

Discussion „What does the Youth Expect from Their Candidate?” and Meet the candidates Disco

*Silistra*

Contact: Maria Kumanova

**June 14**

Candidates debate „The Future of Each Bulgarian Citizen is the Future of European Bulgaria”, place – Ritualna Hall in Veliko Turnovo Municipality Building; informational tables and simulations of the voting process in two central parts of the city

*Veliko Turnovo*

Contact: Teodora Krumova

**June 17**

Candidate debates „The Parliamentary Presented Parties and the Roma population in the District of Montana”, 5:00 p.m., Mladejki Dom; followed by happening for the young people

*Montana*

Contact: Teodora Krumova

**June 16**

Candidate forum “The European Future of Bulgaria and its Youth” in Gabrovo’, 4:00 p.m. in Aleko complex, moderator – the journalist Minka Minkova

*Gabrovo*

Contact: Katya Bozhikova

- June 16** Meetings for young disabled people for introduction of the measures for accessibility and discuss the changes in the election law  
*Sofia*  
Contact: Anna Yanina
- June 16** Candidates debate for first-time voters, Mladezhki Dom, 11:00 a.m.  
*Varna*  
Contact: Anna Yanina
- June 17** Debate “Candidates in Session” with candidates from the Sofia lists of the parliamentary presented political forces  
*Sofia*  
Contact: Emil Petkov
- June 17** Discussion „What does the Youth Expect from Their Candidate?” and Meet the candidates Disco at Top Stars, 8:00 p.m.  
*Smolyan*  
Contact: Maria Kumanova
- June 17 – 23** Audits of total of 70 polling stations, aiming to check the accessibility measures and issue of recommendations, where necessary  
*Burgas, Varna, Vidin and Sofia*  
Contact: Anna Yanina
- June 19** Meet the Candidates Disco in the center of the village  
*Village of Rozino*  
Contact: Teodora Krumova
- June 19** Meet the Candidates Disco in the central park of the town, 6:00 p.m.  
*Razgrad*  
Contact: Teodora Krumova
- June 21** I Vote simulations and happening on the open stage in front of the theater  
*Stara Zagora*  
Contact: Katya Bozhikova
- June 21** Candidate debate with the participation of the young people in the lists of the political forces in Pleven and students from the Medical University in the city, begins at 5:30 p.m., in hall 106 of the Medical University - Pleven  
*Pleven*  
Contact: Katya Bozhikova



**June 22**

Street theatre and simulations *Why and How to Vote?* in the organized informational centers

*Haskovo and Vratza*

Contact: Katya Bozhikova

**June 23**

Students party “Meet the Candidates”, 8:00 p.m., Studentski Dom

*Sofia*

Contact: Mihaela Hristova